A STUDY OF THE TRENDS OF SEXUAL INTEREST AND STATUS OF KNOWLEDGE OF YOUNG WOMEN IN THEIR LATE ADOLESCENCE

BY
ISABEL DAVENPORT

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in the Faculty of Philosophy, Columbia University

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CONTENTS

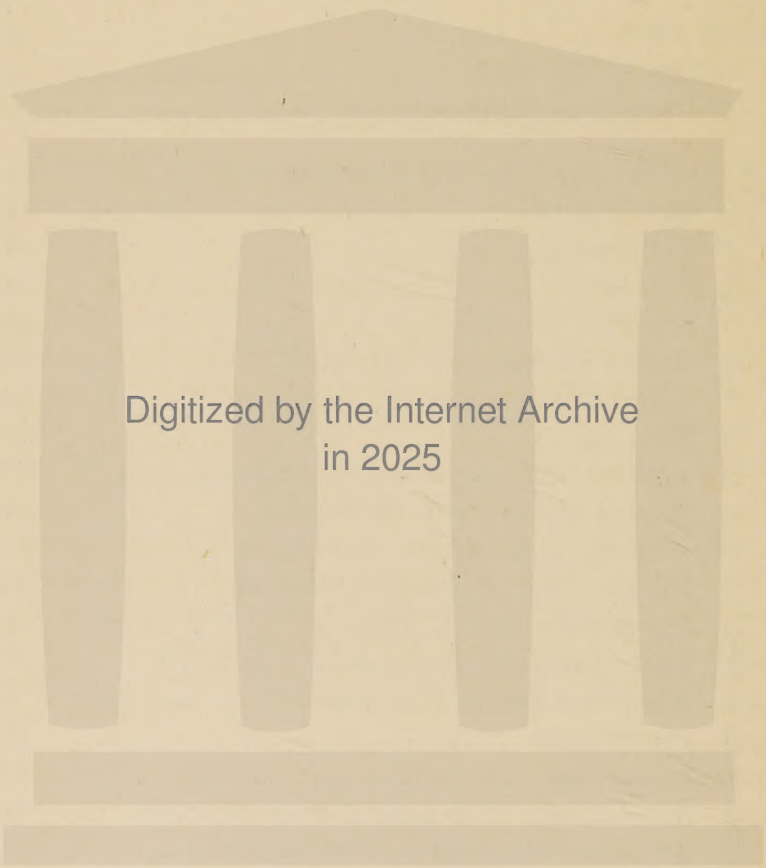
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS 2

INTRODUCTION: Point of View 5

SECTION ONE: 8
I—Aim of the Study 8
II—Treatment of Data 8

SECTION TWO: Questions and First Analysis 15
A Menstruation 15
B Childbearing 19
C Copulation 24
D Venereal Diseases 28
E Sexual Feelings and Attraction 29
F Curiosity about Men and Boys 32
G Marriage 34
H Reproductive and Embryological Processes ... 37
I Reproductive Organs of Women 37
J Anomalous Congenital Conditions 38
K Heredity and Pre-natal Influences 38
L Preliminary Sexual Behavior 41
M Parenthood and Motherhood 41
N Abnormal Sexual Practices 42
O Prostitution 42
P Leucorrhea 43
Q Superstitions (Too general to be classified) 44
R Attitude (Too general to be classified) 44
S Sex Instruction 45

SECTION THREE: 46
I—General Summaries and Conclusions 46
II—Interpretations of Results 58
III—Recommendations for Further Research 61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A Study of the Sexual Interests and Knowledge of Young Women

INTRODUCTION

It seems fairly the rule to introduce discussions on the sexual interests of women with some reference to the mystery with which "the inner life" of women is traditionally surrounded. As late as 1920 a professional psychologist writing a book purporting to deal with the care and education of adolescent girls opened her treatise with the somewhat astounding statement that "Only to those scientists gifted with a rare combination of psychological insight and philosophical breadth of vision is vouchsafed the ability to plumb the depth of the young girl's inner life." "Inner life" and "soul," as the further contents of the book show, being used euphemistically to cover the field of the adolescent girl's sexual interests. By what method it is vouchsafed to these gifted ones to do the plumbing is not specifically stated, but the inference to be derived from the reading of the book, as far as the present writer can discover, is that where it is not one of pure speculation and deductive generalization, it consists of the personal interpretation of sexual "life histories" of apparently neurotic and semi-neurotic girls and women gained by what is in principle essentially the "chatharic" method of psychoanalysis —among which life histories the voluntary evulsions of the Mary MacLeans and Marie Bashkirtseffs of literature play a conspicuous part.

The study presented here was undertaken and carried out from a different point of view. It was based upon the conviction that sexual interests (the same as all interests as far as psychology has been able to determine) are of two sorts, the native and the acquired; the latter being built up through the experience of the individual on the basis of certain instincts and capacities, the nature of which is pretty well agreed upon by leading psychologists. Furthermore, the following investigation was stimulated by the conviction that sexual interests (whether of female or male) were as susceptible of

investigation by properly arranged and adapted psychological methods as other fields of human interest; so that a reliable method once worked out could be applied by any properly trained and qualified person. The present study is an attempt to work out and apply such a method, and is offered as an initial effort in the investigation of the sexual interests of women by other than the subjective analysis by the subjects of their own sexual "thought," "feelings" and habits. It is thus presented as a first attempt to apply objective methods to the field of sexual interests of women. The results, the writer believes, justified both the method and the underlying convictions with which the study was undertaken—namely, that the sexual interests of normal girls and women instead of being a practically unexplorable field to be penetrated only by "insight" of psychology and philosophy working in rare combination, is an integral part of a girl's or woman's mental life quite as accessible to scientific method as any realm of mental behavior of similar type. Primitive and acquired interests are here revealed quite as they might be expected to obtain in any field of human tendencies. And, what is particularly important for psychology, (and also for sociology and education), these interests, like all other human interests, plainly and consciously assert themselves upon occasion as specific trends which clearly reflect the influence not only of the character of the general permanent environment under which they have been formed, but of specific education, and current social movements. The influence of the last-mentioned, in forming the sexual interests of the young women, is noticeable in the questions relative to birth control forming 27% of the questions on childbearing; in the large number of questions specifically on venereal diseases and on their relation to marriage where they form 20% of the questions on that subject; and in the questions on heredity—these questions quite plainly reflecting the influence of present-day propaganda in these respective fields in shaping the specific sexual interests of the young women. The influence of organized education, in determining the trends of interest revealed, is shown particularly by the questions concerning exercise and bathing during menstruation, which deal with the only aspect of the special functions of women with which education concerns itself; and in the questions under "Embryological

Processes" for which the study of biology in the high school plainly formed a considerable stimulus. The influence of a general social, family and religious environment which fails to make adequate provision for the development of the acquired interests of love and marriage, and consciously to educate and train for prospective motherhood, is reflected by the meagre amount of interest shown in these subjects; while the persistent ignoring of the whole realm of sexual life and interests of childhood and youth by these social institutions is reflected by the ignorance revealed concerning the most ordinary facts of life, and the evident failure to think of sexual matters in terms of the best teachings of mental and physical hygiene. But however dense the ignorance revealed by this study, or however harmful or beneficial the specific trend of interest revealed, *the interest itself is at once specific, conscious, and highly modifiable by education and social propaganda.*

SECTION ONE

I—AIM OF STUDY; CHARACTER OF DATA; GROUP OF SUBJECTS

The aim of this study is to investigate the trends of sexual interest and status of sexual knowledge of young women in their late adolescence. By "trends" of interest is here meant the direction of interest as shown by the object of inquiry of the preponderant number of questions, and the place the information sought would ordinarily fill in individual and social adjustment, *not* the *motive* which stimulated the inquiry.

The data consisted of 880 spontaneous questions asked in writing by a group of 160 young women students in a city training school for teachers, *prior* to a course in sex instruction for which the students had made personal request. The subjects ranged in age from 17 yrs., 9 mos., to 23 yrs., 8 mos.; with an average age of 19 yrs., 10 mos. All were high school graduates and all had studied high school biology one school year. The fact that the members of the group were high school graduates, and members of middle and higher working class families, places the group somewhat above the average for the total population; hence the results are to be taken as representative within these limits.

II—TREATMENT OF DATA

The first step in the organization of the data was the classification of the questions with as great a degree of reliability as possible. This was accomplished on the basis of the object of inquiry of the questions taken at their face value. The individual questions were typed on separate cards and their sexual terms underscored. The result showed 559 which had but one term of sexual (or possible sexual) significance, most frequently in form of a noun or of an infinitive, which plainly indicated the phase of sexual interest toward which the inquiry was directed. Examples of the simplest form of such "one-term" questions are as follows:

What is the cause of *menstruation?*
Is *childbirth* a matter of life and death?
What is the best age *to marry?*
What influence does *heredity* have on people?

In other instances the single term of sexual significance took the form of what in our language habits constitutes the plain equivalent of a single noun, as "change of life," "reproductive organs," and "white slavery," and in a comparatively few instances it took a more complex form, such as:

Is it injurious *to kiss a boy?*
Is it true *that certain diseases result from the wrong kind of sex communication?*
What should be taught about sex hygiene in the schools?

Of the remaining 321 questions, 82 were "equivalent one-term" questions in that while nominally possessing two terms, inspection showed these to be equivalent to one for the purpose of classification; 165 possessed two terms of sexual significance, both of which were essential to the integrity of the inquiry; and 74 had three or more terms more or less essentially involved. These four types need some further definition.

"One-term" questions: By a one-term question is meant any question having but one term of sexual significance concerning which the inquiry is plainly made, whether the term be a single word, phrase or clause, or any combination of these. Examples of the different varieties of one-term questions have been given. They range in length and complexity of grammatical structure from the simplest and briefest inquiry, such as "What is heredity?", to questions as long and complex as the one on motherhood, page 41, II b; the distinctive feature of this type being that, irrespective of length or grammatical form, they reveal under careful scrutiny but one term or idea of sexual (or possible sexual) significance, which unmistakably designated the phase of sexual interest upon which the inquiry hinges.

"Equivalent one-term" questions: by an equivalent one-term question is meant one which has two terms of sexual interest from the point of view of the female sex, one of which is unessential to the determination of the object of inquiry. There are two varieties of such questions.

(a) Where the use of one of the sexual terms is simply verbal:

Examples—How is the *child taken from the body* of the *mother?*
What must the *woman do in intercourse* with a *man?*
Is it right *to marry* a *man* of different religion?

In these questions the second terms italicized simply represent a common mode of speech; they in no degree modify the character of the respective inquiries, since a child cannot be taken from any body except that of the mother, and marriage and sexual intercourse on the part of the woman in the character of the acts involve the man. In equivalent questions of this sort the sexual object, represented by what may be called the extraneous term, is included in the situation referred to by the essential term, and the extra term could be eliminated without injury to the nature of the inquiry—it possesses language value only.

(b) Questions in which both terms refer to the same phase of sexual interest, or represent co-ordinate sub-divisions under the one more general class. Examples:

What is meant by *confinement* when *a child is born?*
Is the *period during which a woman expects a child* called *pregnancy?*
What is the difference between *love* and *passion?*
What is the differences between *gonorrhea* and *syphilis?*

In this variety of equivalent one-term question both terms have a specific value, but both lead to the same general classification. In the two first examples both terms relate to child-bearing, and in the third and fourth examples, the two terms italicized represent what may properly be considered co-ordinate interests under the respective headings "sexual feelings" and "venereal diseases," i.e., they are nominally, or actually, two-term questions, but equivalent to one for the practical purpose of classification.

(3) *"Two-term" questions*: By a "two-term" question is meant one whose two terms of sexual meaning refer to distinct, or at least externally distinct, phases of sexual interest, for example:

Can a woman *give birth to a child* after the *change of life?*
Do *boys* have anything to correspond to the *menstrual flow* of girls?
Is *gonorrhea* the only cause of *blind babies at birth?*
Can there be *sex intercourse* with such a disease as *syphilis?*

In such questions both terms obviously enter into the interest involved and complicate the classification of the questions. The problem here arises which of the two terms represents the *main* object of inquiry, in which of the two the interest is *primarily* centered.

(4) *"Three-term" questions*: The expression "three-term"

question is used to refer to one containing three (or more) terms of sexual interest.

Examples—Is *syphilis* contracted by *sexual intercourse* during *menstruation?*
I have heard if *a man is very passionate* at the time of *sexual intercourse* the *result is a girl.* Is this true?
If a young girl has the *whites* when single, is *childbirth* affected in any way after *marriage?*

In the two first examples, all three sexual terms have a genuine part in determining the character of the inquiry, and have to be taken into consideration in the classification of the questions. In the third, the use of "marriage" is largely if not entirely verbal; it simply sets the generally accepted social condition wherein childbirth may take place. The question has to do with the effect of leucorrhea upon childbirth, and is practically a two-term question (analogous to the equivalent one-term question); questions of this sort are included with the three-term questions, to avoid the unnecessary increase of classes of questions, where the results would not be affected.

The discovery of the two- and three-term questions set the limits of applicability of the single-sexual-term standard as the basis of classification. With their advent came the necessity of finding some other means of determining, not the *sole* object of inquiry as with the one-term questions, but the main object toward which the inquiry was directed, what the inquiry was *primarily* about. To determine this, recourse was had to "group judgment."

From the 239 two- and three-term questions, 94 were chosen for judgment. The most of these represented two and three, and some five and six questions, of practically duplicate meaning and almost identical wording. The 94 questions were first classified by the investigator on the basis of what to her judgment constituted the main object of inquiry. They were then judged in turn and independently by the four judges to whom acknowledgments are made above. An agreement of three judges was accepted as determining the class into which the question was placed. The fact that 54% of the questions were judged the same by all five, and 32% the same by four of the judges, seemed to justify the method of classification. 14% were judged the same by three judges; in no instance was there a failure of majority judgment.

The classes as determined on the basis of the single sexual term standard, as explained above, and on the basis of the majority judgment of five judges where the one-term criterion was inapplicable, are given in the following table.

TABLE OF CLASSES

Class Headings	*Tech*	*Syn*	*Rel*	*Eq-O-T*	*Two-term*	*Three term*	*Total*
	One-term						
Menstruation	116	24	6		18		164
Copulation	19	12		4	46	20	101
Childbearing	53		17	13	12	3	98
Veneral and Related Diseases	31	15	6	7	12	6	77
Sexual Feelings and Attraction	44	2	1	3	16	4	70
Curiosity in Regard to Boys and Men	16		10		23	7	56
Reproductive and Embryological Processes	18		11	14	7	4	54
Marriage	23	1	3	10	2	11	50
Reproductive Organs of Women	18	12	4		8		42
Anomalous Congenital Conditions	27	2	2	4		1	36
Sex Instruction	11	3		12		4	30
Preliminary Sexual Behavior	12		2	2	8		24
Heredity and Pre-Natal Influence	4			7		9	20
Abnormal Sexual Practices	3	8			6		17
Prostitution	5	6			3		14
Leucorrhea	11				1	1	13
Superstitions					3	3	6
Motherhood and Parenthood	1			2		1	4
Attitude toward Sexual Matters				4			4
	412	85	62	82	165	74	880
			641				

The one-term questions, which formed the basis of all the classes except two, are divided in the table according to the character of their basal sexual term into "technical" or "pseudo-technical," "synonymous," and "related." The numbers in the column headed technical (tech) include the one-term questions in which the one term of sexual significance is either the actual technical term for the phase of sexual interest named, as "menstruation" (menses), reproduction, prostitution, syphilis, gonorrhea, heredity, etc.; or one which, although not scientifically technical, fills the place of technical terminology with the mass of people, as sexual intercourse for copulation, childbirth for parturition, sexual or venereal diseases for gonorrhea and syphilis, whites for leucorrhea, etc. Such terms may be considered pseudo-technical since they are of such fairly universal use among the laity as to have gained practically a technical significance. Under "synonymous" (syn) terms are included the more or less frequently heard substitutes for the corresponding technical or pseudo-technical term. Some of these are "sick" for menstrua-

tion; sexual union, sex interconnection, and "something happen" (frequently used by girls) for copulation; "diseases" for venereal diseases; and "take after" for inherit. A "synonymous" term in any class refers to the same phase of sexual interest as does the corresponding technical or pseudo-technical term, it being merely a more or less popular substitute for the more acceptable term. Questions whose sole sexual term is designated "related" (rel. of the table), are concerned with some particular event, or process, or situation, either inherently connected, or judging from the question, thought of as connected with the phase of interest named under menstruation on the basis of this relation. In regard to menstruation, "change of life" is classed as a "related" term, and questions having it as the sole sexual term are classified under menstruation on the basis of this relation. In regard to "childbearing," "afterbirth," "miscarriage," and "twilight sleep," are among the related terms which brought their questions under that class.

In the organization of the classes the original nucleus of each class, except the two shown in the table, was a group of questions the number of which is given in the first column, whose single term of sexual significance (most frequently a single noun) was a technical or pseudo-technical term which determined and as a rule gave name to the class; in 10 of the classes so formed, this nucleus was enlarged by the addition of questions whose sole term of sexual significance was a fairly well-known substitute for the more technical term; and to 10 groups were added those one-term questions (col. III) in which the sexual term plainly related to some feature of the sexual interest covered by the technical term, or (in a few instances) were taken to be related by the majority of the judges. The limits of the class are defined in connection with the questions which it comprises wherever this seemed necessary.

The next step after the general classification of the questions was to determine in case of each individual question the particular aspect concerning which inquiry was made, and their arrangement into topics and sub-topics on the basis of frequency, as shown in the outlines in the following section. Each question was then evaluated on the basis of its utility value. If the knowledge solicited was of some readily discern-

ible use for the regulation of conduct, or possessed some readily discernible emotional bearing so as to be significant for mental adjustment, it was classed as a "utility" question; lacking these elements, it was called a "curiosity" question. The latter type was further analyzed as an intellectual or scientific, or "sexual" curiosity question, according to whether it was concerned with information of a sort which might readily gain the attention through the instinct of curiosity, or possessed features interesting in themselves so as naturally to appeal to native capacities other than sexual; or concerned with information interest in which would seem to depend more clearly upon genuine sexual motives.

"Utility" questions were further evaluated in light of certain generally accepted, or generally acceptable, present-day ideals and trends. Chief among these were (1) the ideal or goal of physical health as dependent upon normal and vigorous development of the body, intelligently directed regimen, and prevention of pathological conditions: (2) the ideal of healthful mental adjustment: and (3), in sex life, the ideal of love, marriage, and healthy and happy parenthood as an end to be seriously desired and prepared for. Religious and ethical standards (except as the latter are inherently involved in the goals enumerated), being controversial, could not be employed in the evaluation of the utility value or constructive merit of the questions. The utility questions evaluated in the light of these generally acceptable goals of behavior, ranged in constructive value all the way from explicit physical and mental hygiene questions (i.e., explicitly directed toward the regulation of physical conduct or mental attitude), to the comparatively trivial—i.e., having little practical merit for individual or social adjustment. Conclusions in regard to the interest revealed relative to the given phase of sexual experience are based upon the number and character of the utility and curiosity questions as thus determined.

In section three the questions are reassembled on the basis of the main trends revealed by the analysis in section two and general conclusions derived. Where in any case the conclusion drawn seems to extend beyond the spread of the actual number of questions, the investigator's grounds for this apparent liberty are stated in connection with the derivation of the conclusion.

SECTION TWO

QUESTIONS AND FIRST ANALYSIS

In this section the questions are presented, and analyzed on the basis of the interest revealed in light of the accepted criteria (p. 14). The conclusions in each case are based upon the questions under immediate discussion. The terms employed in the questions are given whenever they seem to have any special value in revealing the status of knowledge of the questioners. With the exception of those under motherhood, page 41, the questions are presented in outline form.

A—MENSTRUATION—164

Term	*frequency*	*term*	*frequency*
menstruation (menses)	129	period	2
unwell	18	flow	1
sick (sickness)	5	change of life	6
ill (illness)	3		

The outstanding feature of the terms in this group, as compared with the others, is the predominance of proper specific terminology.

topics and sub-topics	*no. of qs*
I—Cause and Physiology of Menstruation Cause or reason for (22); why periodical (4); use or benefit of (3); organs involved (4); why limited to female sex (4)	37
II—Irregularity and Delay of Menstruation Cause for (14); harm of (7); remedy for (4)	25
III—Suffering During Menstruation Cause for pain, headache, cramps, constipation (12); cure for (6); effect of pain on a girl's health (1); whether it is natural (1)	20
IV—Bathing during Menstruation Whether baths should, or why they should not be taken during menstruation (18; how they should be taken (2)	20
V—Age of Appearance; Length of Period; Amount of Flow a—Age when a girl should become "unwell" (2); b—length of period (7); c—what the amount should be (3); time between periods (1)	13
VI—Exercise during Menstruation Whether it is harmful to exercise at that time (3); harm of specific kinds of exercise (6); what the standard should be for exercise	11
VII—General Hygiene or Care of Body during Menstruation How to act, or how to take care of body during, or hygiene of	10
VIII—Menopause Meaning of change of life (4); time of occurrence (5); effect of (1)	10
IX—Superstitions Relative to Menstruation a—Whether a man can tell by looking into the eyes or feeling the pulse (4); b—Whether the blood of the menstrual flow is impure (3); c—whether menstruation cause pimples on face (1); d—whether washing or destroying the napkins during the period increases the flow (1)	9

topics and sub-topics	*no. of qs*
X—Menstruation in Relation to Childbearing	
What it has to do with bearing a child (2); whether it ceases during the time of childbearing (2); whether it is resumed after childbirth (1); why menstruation ceases after "intercourse" (1)	6
XI—Attitude toward Menstruation	
How a girl should feel about menstruation (1); why a girl feels so ashamed (1); what excuse has a girl for not exercising (1)	3

That which is provided in the above outline is the particular aspect of menstruation concerning which information was sought by the corresponding number of questions in the frequency column. The individual questions may have differed considerably, or have been nearly or quite identical; their point of agreement is the specific aspect of menstruation toward which the inquiry is directed. The following questions taken from V b, relative to the length of the period, will illustrate the relation which throughout the outline (and all subsequent ones), the topics and sub-topics bear to the questions they represent:

"About how many days should a normal girl be unwell?"
"Is there any danger in menstruation continuing too long?"
"Is there any danger when the menstrual period extends over a week?"
"If a girl is unwell only a short time does it mean that the girl has consumption?"

While considerable variety exists here from the point of view of answer to the questions, from that of aspect of menstruation which served as object of enquiry, they seem to be adequately represented by the sub-topic given in the outline—which informs the reader that 7 questions asked for information in regard to the length of the period of menstruation. The inspection of the outline reveals fairly conspicuous trends of interest, the most obvious of which are along the lines of physical hygiene. The question of course arises as to what extent the figures given are representative of the number of young women wishing or needing information in regard to a given topic; i.e., the exact number in the group who lacked satisfactory information on the given phase of menstruation, and would like to have it. It is impossible to answer this question on the basis of the data. The 164 qs included by the topics give a little over 1 q for each girl, but there is no way of knowing whether or not every girl did submit one; and that some girls handed in more than one is evident from the fact that there were but 160 girls in the group. Even if this fact were known, together with the exact

nature of the question asked in each instance, still no safe conclusion could be derived in regard to the points mentioned —the number of girls lacking information and desiring it— for the fact that a member of the group did not ask for certain information would not be sufficient grounds upon which to conclude that she possessed it, or that she would not be interested in getting it. Then too, it is readily conceivable that one question might have represented two or even a considerable number of girls working in collaboration. This would be the more likely in view of the practical purpose of the questions (which was to get them answered), and of the additional fact that they had been requested to limit their questions to five. A very natural consequence in such a situation, it would seem, would be a division of questions, especially along lines of such common interest as those represented by several of the topics in this class. But though it is not possible to draw valid conclusions in regard to just what percentage of the women asked, or are represented by the questions under each topic, there may, it seems, certain minimal conclusions be reached which are quite as valuable for the purposes of this study, as exact figures in percentages of women asking the questions would be. Taking, for example, the 20 qs under topic IV, the very character of the questions renders unlikely the same woman asking 2 qs under this topic in any considerable number of instances; and correspondingly safe, it seems, to accept the number of questions on this particular subject as an approximate minimal figure for the group. This would give an approximate minimal percentage of 12½% of the group of women who showed sufficiently active interest in getting information in regard to bathing during menstruation to make it one of five permitted questions in her whole field of sexual interests. By the same criterion 12½% showed active interest in getting information in regard to some phase of physical suffering or disability during menstruation; 15% in gaining facts concerning irregularity and delay of the menstrual function; 8½% in gaining information in regard to when the function should normally begin and the length of period or amount of flow; 6⅞% in finding out how much or how a girl should exercise when she is menstruating; and 6¼% that wanted to be informed in regard to the personal care of the body or

matters of general conduct during the period. Topics IV, VI, and VII together give 41 qs (25% of the questions on menstruation) as representing the approximate minimal interest of the group in getting, and hence presumably lacking, specific information in regard to proper physical conduct during menstruation; and topics II, III, and V, give 58 qs (about 35%of the 164), which ask for information in regard to normal or abnormal functioning. These groups combined give 99 qs, 60% of the 164 qs, representing approximately the minimal interest of the group on menstruation, which ask for information in regard to the elementary facts of the normal functioning of menstruation, and the proper conduct and care of the body. b, c, and d, under IX are also questions of physical hygiene in their import; d having a practical significance for sanitation, and c for personal health, since the inference is that there is something in menstruation itself to cause and hence to warrant pimples; the 3 under b have an important bearing on hygiene in that the belief that menstruation is a means of getting rid of impure blood causes heavy menstrual flow to be accepted as desirable. These 5 added to the 99 relative to personal conduct and normal functioning, give 104 qs or about 63% whose interest is plainly directed toward some phase of physical welfare. 7 qs, 3 under XI and the 4 under IXa which ask whether a man can tell if a girl is menstruating by looking into her eyes, or feeling her pulse, are essentially questions of mental hygiene; both in their import for mental peace, since the attitudes and fears implied in the questions are such as to stimulate genuine suffering in the mind of the girl who is afflicted with them; and for their bearing as motive forces upon the individual and social behavior of the girl. Combining the physical and mental hygiene groups gives 111 qs, or 67½% of constructive merit for the hygiene of menstruation.

The remaining 53 qs seem to be primarily of the intellectual sort—i.e., questions of "how," "when," and "why," having little if any direct utilitarian value for the conduct of menstruation, or little if any readily discernible emotional foundation. Of these 43, 37 under I and 6 under X, are questions on the physiology and biology of menstruation, and quite plainly, it seems, take rank on the scientific level. They apparently represent the sort of scientific curiosity that might be

expected of high school graduates who having studied biology and having come, to some extent, to think of functions as implying organs and adaptive ends, wanted to know what these are in case of menstruation. The 10 qs under VIII are of the same general type; they suffer in expression from lack of background of proper specific terms such as would give the questions obvious scientific and scholarly bent; but these as well as the 43 mentioned above are apparently primarily biological questions, indicative of mental curiosity fairly remote from either the utilitarian or emotional interests of the girls in menstruation.

Conclusions: The following observations in way of conclusions seem to be warranted on the basis of the above findings:

(1) That there was a large amount of interest shown in getting information in regard to menstruation—more than one question for each girl, and nearly 19½ of the whole number of questions being in this field.

(2) That the interest was conspicuously centered in getting information pertaining to the healthful functioning of menstruation.

(3) That the questions reveal an unfortunate degree of ignorance and practical unpreparedness in regard to the elementary facts of the physiology and hygiene of menstruation, on the part of high school graduates and prospective teachers.

B—Childbearing—98

The questions included in this class are selected as concerned with the conscious experience of the woman from conception to childbirth, and are taken as representing the more intimate personal attitude and interest of the woman as childbearer. Questions pertaining to the more strictly biological and embryological aspects of child production are classified under the heading "Reproductive and Embryological Processes"; while questions in which copulation is made an object of inquiry as an isolated phase of sexual experience, i.e., apart from its bearing upon conception or reproduction, are classed under "Copulation." Such a division seemed to result naturally on the basis of the character of the questions,

and best to facilitate the purpose of the investigation to discover as closely as possible the nature of the interest in each instance.

The terms in the 98 questions in this class, with the exception of 6 instances, are brief practical terms of everyday life, such as "childbirth" or simply "birth"; or some circumlocutory phraseology such as "when a woman gives birth," "when a woman is bearing a child," etc. In 6 questions the following technical or pseudo-technical terms occurred, pregnancy (pregnant) (3); confinement (1); conception (prevention of) (2). In 4 instances, pregnancy twice; confinement once; conception once, the term occurred merely incident upon the inquiry concerning its meaning; in 2 instances only, pregnancy once, conception once, there occurred a use of technical terms as a part of the girl's "working vocabulary."

I—Birth Control or Prevention of Childbearing
Inquiries concerning explanation and discussion of birth control, or prevention of conception (7); how to control birth (guard against becoming a mother, etc. (8); danger of, to one or both sexes (4); whether legal, or ethical (5); reasons for and against (2); whether physicians and drug stores are permitted to dispense preventives (1) 27

II—Childbirth and Miscarriage
a—Cause or meaning of pain, tearing, sewing, death, etc., at childbirth (8); b—alleviation of pain by anesthetics (mode of, ethics of, effect on child)* (3); c—why women cannot give birth naturally (2); d—how child is "taken" from the body of mother by doctor (1); e—meaning of afterbirth, waterbag, confinement (3); f—cause, danger and meaning* of miscarriage (6) 23

III—Condition of Pregnancy and Period of Gestation
a—How a woman knows she is bearing a child (2); b—how know when baby is to be born (3); c—if woman can feel baby before it is born (1); d—meaning of the term pregnancy (2); e—What the woman should abstain from during pregnancy, or the hygiene of (2); f—nausea during (cause or necessity of) (2); g—why 7 mos. babies live and nine mos. die (2) 14

IV—Childlessness
Cause for barrenness (4); why some women, or couples, have no children (8); cause of lack of children with women "who practice sex intercourse for a living" (2) 14

V—Conditions of Conception or Childbearing
What conditions are carried out, or process, in order to have a child (3); how soon a girl may give birth (1); whether after change of life (1); whether passion on part of woman determines "whether she has a child" (1); whether a child results every time there is intercourse (4); how much intercourse is necessary before a child begins to be formed (2) 12

VI—Difference in Number of Children
Reason for one child only (1); reason for different number in families (1); why women have more children than they want (1) 3

VII—Attitude toward Childbearing
Whether there is any decent way to look upon childbearing (1); how a girl ought to look upon childbearing (1); whether childbearing should be regarded as a necessary evil or a duty (1) 3

VIII—Age and Childbearing
Best age for, and why (1); dangers of giving birth at an early age (1) 2

The trends of interest revealed through the assembling of the questions on childbearing are not so obvious, nor do they show the homogeneity observable in the case of the preceding class. But certain trends stand out fairly sharply, and careful inspection of the questions reveals a degree of uniformity not at first apparent. Externally the most striking fact shown by the outline is that 27 qs asked for information concerning birth control or the prevention of children; and that 14 were concerned with conditions of childlessness. This gives 41 qs, about 42% of the 98, showing interest directed toward the negative side of childbearing. The various positive aspects of the subject are represented by 57 qs. Of these 48 are utility questions, and 9 fall in the intellectual interest or curiosity class. The latter include the questions under II, e and f[3]; III d; VI a-c. The utility questions are as follows: IIa-d, f; III a-c, e-g; V a-c, d-g; VII a-c; VIII a, b. The inspection of this group of utility questions shows four levels discernible on the basis of the constructive value of the interest revealed. This will become apparent as we proceed with a somewhat detailed analysis of the questions in connection with the particular aspect of childbearing with which they are concerned.

Childbirth and miscarriage: With the exception of the four questions already classed as curiosity questions the entire number—19 qs and 83% of the number submitted relative to childbirth—had to do with some pathological aspect of childbirth (suffering and incapacity for parturition) and illustrate one of the levels into which the utility questions divide. In every instance the information sought by these questions has utility value, but a striking feature of the entire number is the fact that there is no instance among them of a question directed toward finding out how pathological conditions can be prevented by favorable conduct; and in but one instance (II b*), does there occur an expressed interest in the welfare of the child as this might be affected by the manner in which

parturition is consummated. There was no instance of a question showing interest in how the after life of the woman may be affected by suffering in childbirth. With three possible exceptions, one under a, asking "Why women must suffer so," and the 2 under c, suffering seems to be unquestionably accepted as a normal part of parturition—the interest revealed being directed toward understanding the nature of the suffering to be endured, or its alleviation by anesthetics, and not at all apparently toward getting information for the healthful conduct of life so as to prevent suffering.

Pregnancy and gestation: In the 12 utility questions on this aspect of childbearing two very different levels of constructive merit are represented. One is illustrated by the 2 under III e which represent the higher constructive level in that the information sought is not only practically usable, but is usable to the end of bringing about better conditions of gestation than could be secured without it; it forms a part of the necessary equipment of the woman for intelligent guidance of conduct in childbearing. To these may be added the 2 under f, thus giving 4 of the 12 which seek information of a sufficiently constructive order as to rank in the hygiene on a par with similar questions on menstruation. The remaining 8 qs, a-c and g, illustrate what may be considered about the lowest level of utility questions. While the utility questions under childbirth show a pathological trend that denotes interest working on a distinctly destructive level, the information which the questions solicit is in itself important. That which particularly characterizes these 8 qs, which constitute 57% of the questions on pregnancy and gestation, is the comparatively unimportant nature of the information sought—these questions ranking so low in utility value compared to questions which might have been asked, or with the corresponding ones on menstruation, as to arouse the problem whether they could not properly be ranked on the curiosity grade. But some degree of utility value attaches to them, and they have a distinct value in revealing the level of merit of the majority of the questions, and hence of the prevailing trend of interest of the questioners, in regard to the period during which the child is part of the physical life of the mother.

Conception: The 12 qs under V represent a still different

level of utility question in that while the information solicited is of genuine importance and of positive utility value (as compared with the relatively inconsequential character of the majority of the utility questions on gestation, and the pathological trend of the questions on childbirth), as a group they lack entirely the higher constructive element that characterizes the 4 "hygiene" questions under gestation. The particular point here is, that though these questions possess important practical value for the regulation of conduct in regard to conception, still representing as they do the interests of the questioners in regard to the conditions of conception, they give no evidence of a tendency to think of the situation in terms of personal health or of social responsibility. The interest revealed by the questions is entirely in the conditions under which conception can take place, and in no degree in the conditions of healthful conception from the standpoint of either the mother or the child.

Topics VII and VIII provide 5 qs which are to be ranked with the 4 under gestation as utility questions on the higher constructive level. The 3 under VIII are questions of attitude, but they seek information profoundly significant for mental health and for social welfare. The constructive merit of the 2 under VII is obvious. These 5 together with the 4 hygiene questions under III give a group of 9 qs, c 9% of the questions on the subject, which can be regarded as revealing interest of a highly constructive sort for the regulation of the conduct of the woman for childbearing.

Observations in way of conclusions: In considering the conclusions to be drawn from the study of the 98 qs constituting the class under discussion, it is to be remembered that these questions do not comprehend the total amount of interest shown in children, or in reproduction and its processes. What they do represent, as previously stated, is the interest shown in childbearing as part of the woman's conscious experience. The main effects of the analysis of other groups of questions which pertain in some way to child production, are to increase the number of intellectual questions, or to bring into higher relief the outstanding facts of the present group—they do not affect materially the character of the present observations which have to do with the nature and trend of the interest shown in childbearing as related to the woman's personal

conscious experience. On the basis of the questions representing this point of view, the following observations seem warranted:

(1) That the interest shown in child production from the point of view of the woman as childbearer was markedly negative in trend—there being nearly as many questions on prevention and conditions of childlessness as on all other phases of childbearing combined.

(2) That there was revealed a conspicuous lack of tendency on the part of the questioners to think of the processes of childbearing in terms of contructive hygiene—there being but 2 qs (III e) of the 98 which plainly asked for information in regard to how a woman should or could regulate her conduct for the three vital processes involved in childbearing.

(3) That the questions revealed for the greater part a distinct lack of background, whether of positive, vital personal interest, or of intelligent commonly observable facts, requisite as a foundation for individually and socially constructive questions.

(4) That the questions revealed to a conspicuous degree a lack of positive wholesome outlook toward childbearing.

(5) That while the number of questions reveal a fairly large degree of interest in childbearing, the character of the questions showed interest lacking organization in connection with the questioner's personal life and ideals.

C—COPULATION—101

terms	*freq.*	*terms*	*freq.*
1—sexual intercourse	29	14—have more than one woman	1
2—sex intercourse	27	15—submit to strong desires	1
3—sex union	4	16—sow wild oats	1
4—sex relationship	2	17—"go wrong"	1
5—intercourse	9	18—"do something"	1
6—interconnection	3	19—attack (a girl)	1
7—the union	2	20—live with other women (besides their wives)	1
8—the process	2	relative to women	
9—intercoursing	3	21—something happen to	3
10—the function of the sex organ	1	22—ruined	2
relative to men		23—falls	1
11—prostitution (necessary for)	2	24—guard herself (from rape)	1
12—visit houses	1	25—safe (from attack by a man)	1
13—"men going out"	1		

The noteworthy features of the terms employed are the entire absence of proper specific terms for copulation, such as might, it seems, legiti-

mately be expected from persons who had studied biology; and the crudity of several of the makeshifts resorted to.

I—Need for Copulation for Physical Health
- a—Whether sexual intercourse is necessary for the health of people (or men and women); or abstinence dangerous to health 6
- b—Physical need for copulation on part of men
  - (1) Whether sexual intercourse is "absolutely necessary" for men; (necessary once a month after 14 yrs. of age; so necessary that they have to go to houses to have intercourse with strange women; so necessary that consumption will follow if not; so necessary as to necessitate prostitution) 18
  - (2) Why sexual intercourse is so necessary for men that they have to visit houses; (or how it is that there is a natural law that makes it necessary for men) 5
  - (3) At what age it becomes necessary for men to have sexual intercourse 1
  - (4) Whether there is something wrong with a man who can control himself and not go to houses; (or how it is that about one boy or man in a hundred can refrain) 2
  - (5) Whether sexual intercourse is only cure for wet dreams (or moral or legal for the boy or man when prescribed by the doctor) 3

35

II—Nature and Conduct of Copulation; Time; Frequency
- a—What sex intercourse consists of, or how carried on (19); b—what the best age for sex intercourse to begin (2); c—how often take place after people are married (2); d—whether it can take place any time during the month, and after change of life (2); e—cause and cure, if any, for pain on part of woman in copulation (2); f—danger of sex intercourse during menstruation (3); g—why occur first night of marriage (1) 31

III—Childhood and Pre-marital Experience of Women
- What the effect upon a girl (whether she is ruined, how to tell if she is ruined) if a boy or man had intercourse with her when she was a child, 6, 13 or 14 yrs. of age (4); whether it is her duty to tell her future husband, and "people" if a man had intercourse with her when a child (2); whether, or how a man can tell if his wife had had intercourse (4) 10

IV—Pre-marital and Extra-marital Practice of Men
- Whether most or all men have sexual intercourse before marriage (3); how to tell if a man has had sexual intercourse (3); why some men live with other women besides their wives (2) 8

V—Desire for Copulation
- a—Whether there is such a desire and why (2); b—at what age it is strongest (1); why some women never have any desire (1) 4

VI—Defense against Rape
- a—What a girl should do when a man attacks her (3); b—how to tell if she is safe with a man (1) 4

VII—Social Discrimination against Women
- Why a woman is ruined or cast out when a man's act is condoned 4

VIII—Superstitions
- Whether pimples on the face are a sign that one has or has not had sexual intercourse 3

IX—Attitude
- Why sex intercourse is considered sinful; why people shrink from it 2

One of the most striking features of the questions for the purpose of the discovery of interest is their number; there being 3 more questions on copulation as an isolated sexual experience than on the whole complex subject of childbearing; and 23 more than on the subjects of marriage, parenthood, and preliminary sexual behavior (i.e., courtship, etc.) combined. While questions on this subject are presumably to be taken as representing the more intimate sexual interests of the questioners, and are naturally to be thought of as bound up more or less consciously with their emotional life, yet the individual questions grouped on the basis of their particular object of inquiry, bear analysis along much the same lines as in the preceding groups. It is possible here as with other subjects to discover the trends which the interest revealed by the questions take; to gauge their constructive merit by the light of present day ideals in regard to physical and mental hygiene; and to gain some real insight into the status of knowledge of the questioners in regard to the subject. The most obvious features shown by the inspection of the subject are (1) the small number of what could be considered primarily curiosity questions, and the entire lack of anything that could be regarded as inconsequential; and (2) the marked concentration of questions upon the doctrine of "physical necessity" for men.

The curiosity questions in this group seem to be limited to the 5 under Va, b. While these were no doubt motivated to some degree by "sexual" interest, in the sense that the inquiry would otherwise scarcely have gained the attention, yet lacking as they do any particular utility value or special emotional significance, what they seem primarily to display is sexual interest working on the curiosity level. The remaining 98 qs, over 97% of the total number on the subject, are practical questions of genuine utility value for physical or mental welfare or both. A noteworthy fact in connection with these is the small number of questions which ask for information in regard to the conduct of copulation—how copulation is carried on, or at what times or how frequently it is or should be consummated. All questions along this line are grouped under II; and excluding g, whose chief significance lies in its emotional bearing, they give a group of but 30 qs which ask for information concerning the conduct of

copulation. Of these 5, c and d ask information directed toward the healthful conduct of copulation in regard to age or time, and comprise the total amount of inquiry so directed. There was no question explicitly aimed toward finding out healthful conditions relative to the manner in which copulation should be consummated, or toward learning the relation between frequency and health. The 2 under e elicit information which might be applicable to the remedy of the pathological conditions concerning which inquiry is made, and are to be ranked as hygiene questions. This gives 7 qs (7% of the 101), which appear to show any interest in getting information making for healthful functioning.

A much larger number, 35 qs, cover a miscellany of attitudes, traditions, and social conditions which have importaant bearing upon the emotional life of women, and hence upon their mental welfare. This group comprises all questions under III, IV, VI, VIII, IX; c under V; and g under II.

The 35 qs under I are of course physical hygiene questions—being explicitly directed toward finding out the relation that the need for copulation bears to physical health, particularly with men: and from the standpoint of women they are mental hygiene questions of the first rank, for perhaps no feature of sex life as it comes to the attention of women before marriage, is more perturbing than the doctrine of a peculiar need for sexual relations for men and boys that justifies illicit practice on their part. The large part this doctrine plays in the interest shown in the subject of copulation with this group of young women, is demonstrated by the proportionally large number of questions devoted to it—29, over 28½%, of the total number of questions on the subject. But the social implications of the doctrine involved in these 29 qs, as well as their peculiar significance for the physical and mental integrity of men, women and children (aside from the mere question of physical need for copulation), put them in a class by themselves in importance; while the bare problem of the place that the need for copulation fills in the physical welfare of men or women, as involved in the 35 qs (35% of the 101), is of itself of sufficient importance as to render the interest revealed of the highest constructive tendency socially and individually.

Observations in way of conclusions:

(1) That there was a large degree of interest revealed in copulation as an isolated sexual experience; i.e., as a practice aside from its relation to reproduction and venereal diseases.

(2) That the interest revealed was centered largely upon illicit practice of men—over 50% of the questions being concerned with some aspect of such practice.

(3) That there was revealed a very small amount of interest in healthful conduct of copulation, such as prevailed in the questions on menstruation.

(4) That here, as in the immediately preceding class, there was revealed a lack of point of view of modern hygiene relative to copulation, such as would form the necessary background for interest in healthful functioning.

D—VENEREAL AND RELATED DISEASES—77

I—Syphilis and Gonorrhea
a—Meaning or explanation of syphilis (13); of gonorrhea (3); cause of syphilis (3); cure (4); cure of gonorrhea (2); prevention of syphilis (1); symptoms of syphilis (1); of gonorrhea (1); b—whether syphilis is transmitted by heredity (1); whether caught by kissing (3); how two perfectly well persons can get it by "contraction" (1); whether women can get it from men as well as men from women (1); whether syphilis or gonorrhea is contracted by sex intercourse during menstruation (3); c—whether syphilis causes lameness or paralysis in children (1); whether gonorrhea is the only cause of blind babies (1); d—if there can be sex intercourse with syphilis or gonorrhea (2) 41

II—Venereal or Sexual Diseases; "Diseases;" "Diseased People."
a—Meaning or nature of (6); cause of (3); b—how gotten (1); whether man can transfer it to his wife (1); whether given to clean people through kissing (2); c—what kind of people have them (2); why they exist (1); d—what their effects are (1) .. 17

III—Diseases through Sex Relationship; Diseases Peculiar to Men
a—Explanation of diseases due to "sex relationship" or to "too much sex association" (3); cause of (1); effects (1); b—whether it is true that certain diseases result from the wrong kind of sex communication (2); c—names (2) and cause (1) of the diseases which men have and women do not 10

IV—Diseases Taken to be Related to Sexual Causes
a—Erysiphilis (erysiflus, etc.), explanation of, symptoms, if women get it from men (5); b—cause for locomotor ataxia and paralysis in old men and women (2); c—if hemorrhoids are caused by sex intercourse (2) 9

These questions as a group are hygiene questions; and from the standpoint of interest the value is largely summed up by this fact. The chief value of the inspection of the specific object of inquiry of the questions is the light gained relative to the status of the knowledge of the questioners in regard

to the subject. As shown on the preceding page a more or less accurate acquaintance with the specific names for syphilis and gonorrhea was shown by over 50% of the questions, but aside from this acquaintance with names, the knowledge of the questioners for the greater part seems to be about as slight as possible consistent with the fact that they knew that there are "sexual diseases."

Summary and observations in way of conclusions: In considering the interest and status of knowledge revealed by these questions, mention should be made of 9 qs concerning "venereal" diseases, which were judged as concerned primarily with "marriage" (p. 34). Their consideration in connection with this group would give a little over 1 q for every two women; under the present arrangement there occurs a little less than 1 q for every two women of the 160. The outstanding facts revealed by the assembling of these questions are:

(1) The large amount of interest revealed in getting knowledge concerning diseases thought of as related to sexual life.

(2) The weight of emphasis which their number adds to the interest shown in hygiene.

(3) The apparent lack of background of information of these common diseases as communicable diseases concerning which prospective teachers could justly be expected to have a ground knowledge.

E—SEXUAL FEELING AND ATTRACTION—70

terms	*freq.*	*terms*	*freq.*
1—passion (passionate)	26	8—sex magnetism	2
2—love (sex love, love between men and women) ..	15	9—affection for the opposite sex	2
3—sex attraction	6	10—cold-blooded	2
4—Platonic love (friendship)	5	11—a certain very strong feeling	1
5—free love	5	12—"terrible fit of depression"	1
6—sex instinct	3		
7—sexual feelings	2		

I—Passion; Sexual Attraction; Sex Magnetism; Sex Instinct
a—Meaning of (6*); age when strongest (1); cause of (1); whether innate in men and women (2); b—whether stronger in men than in women (3); why stronger in men (1); c—whether possible for men to control their passionate feelings (3); to be respected if they do not (1); what the physical (3) or social (1) reasons why he cannot control his passions as well as a woman; d—if it is right to give way to passions (2); e—cause for different amount of affection for opposite sex with different individuals (1); f—whether similars or opposites attract each other more (1); g—if persons with a good deal of hair are particularly passionate (1) 27

II—Love
a—Whether there is sex love different from other love (4); b—whether a real love between men and women or merely lust (3); c—how to tell difference between love and passion (2); between sex love and love between girl friends (1); d—if jealousy is sign or part of true love (2); e—how a girl can tell if she is in love (2); f—if right to love man of different religion (1) 15

III—Attitude
Why sex feelings are considered sinful (1); why feared (2); whether such fear is natural or due to training (2); whether it should be regarded with disgust (2) 7

IV—Superstitions
a—Whether women have menstruation to relieve their passions (3); b—why men don't have it for this purpose (1); c—if men do not need to have sex intercourse since they haven't menstruation to relieve their passions (2) 6

V—Pathological Conditions
Why some women are cold-blooded toward opposite sex (3); meaning of a "certain very strong feeling" one girl has for another (1); explanation of "terrible fits of depression" (1) .. 5

VI—Platonic Love or Friendship; Free Love
a—Meaning of Platonic love (2); b—whether possible 3; c—what free love is (2); d—arguments for and against (3) 10

As in the case of the questions on copulation these are to be taken as expressive of the more intimate sexual interests of the questioners. Before investigating the trends which this interest takes as revealed by the content value or object of inquiry of the individual questions, some light relative to the general level and organization of interest can be gained from the number and general character of the questions concerned with the concepts connoted by the terms "passion," "sexual attraction," and "love." 60 of the 70 qs are divided between these terms as follows, passion (passionate feeling) 26 qs, (43%); sex attraction (magnetism, instinct, etc.), 19 qs, (32); love, 15 qs, (25%). The table shows a conspicuous centering of interest upon "passion" and "passionate feelings"; interest in the general notion of sexual attraction comes next; while interest in the nature and conduct of love is represented by but 15 qs. Thus of the 60 qs devoted to the three phases of sexual feeling, 45 qs, or 75%, showed interest in its primitive aspects, and but 25% in the acquired sentiment. Taking love between the sexes as embodying the racial ideal (the individually profitable as well as the socially contructive manifestation of sexual feelings), the division of questions points to interest predominantly on the primitive level, and lacking in positive constructive organization in connection with

individual and social ideals—the main trend of interest being directed toward passion and sexual attraction and not toward love. The character of many of the questions give additional evidence of both these points—the primitive level of interest in the main, and its lack of organization around the acquired racial sentiment. This is to be seen both in the fact that 7, 46⅔% of the questions on love, asked blankly if there is a love between men and women different from other love, or aside from mere lust, thus revealing a lack of positive basal instruction that there is such a state; and by the naive character or superstitious element involved in the 25 qs included under III, IV, and Ic and d.

Following the line of analysis employed with the preceding classes, the 70 qs divide into a curiosity group of 21 qs (30%), and a utility group of 49 (70%). The latter divides again into questions which have direct conduct value, and those having marked emotional significance.

Questions of direct conduct value are: Ib (4)*, c(8)*, d(2); II c(3), d(2), e(2), f(1); IV all*; VI b(2), d(2), d(2)—34 in all. Of this group the 18 marked with the asterisk bear implicitly or explicitly upon the doctrine that sexual feeling is naturally stronger and less controllable in men than in women, and carry the peculiar significance for behavior and hygiene of any questions having import relative to the "double standard" for sexual conduct. The conduct bearing character of the remaining 16 is obvious. There was no instance of a question which explicitly asked for information in regard to the regulation of sexual feelings in the interest of physical health.

Fifteen of the utility question—IIb, III all, V all—(21% of the 70 qs), are either questions of attitude or plainly carry emotional value, and are important for mental hygiene. Of these 7, III, are questions which reflect traditional conflicts; 5, V, are directed toward pathological emotional conditions; and 3, IIb, concerning the real nature of love between men and women, have a strong emotional bearing. This is not to be interpreted as inferring that these question have no practical significance for overt individual and social conduct—the nature of the information solicited would naturally be expected to have marked effect upon behavior; but since their immediate bearing is emotional and mental, their consideration from that point of view has a value for this study.

A proportionally large number of questions, 21, or 30% of the 70, are to be taken as being primarily on the curiosity level. These include: Ia and e-g inclusive; IIa, VIa and c. Of these 14-Ia (6*); IIa; VI a and c are questions of mere meaning or existence; the remaining 4 under Ia show a little higher degree of "content" then the preceding, but represent the sort of information that is chiefly of value as knowledge, with the minimum of effect upon behavior. The remaining 3, Ie-g, show sexual curiosity on a fairly inconsequential biological basis.

Conclusions: (1) That the interest revealed by the questions was centered predominantly upon the primitive aspects of sexual feeling as typified by passion and sexual attraction, rather than upon love.

(2) That as far as the questions reveal no connection had been established in the minds of the questioners, i.e., no conscious interest developed, between conduct relative to sexual feeling and physical health.

(3) That the sexual interest which must be taken as the conscious or unconscious stimulus for the questions showed lack of constructive organization around the concept of love as the ideal expression of sexual feeling, and in connection with the trend of modern biological sciences.

(4) That the questions revealed a lack of basal knowledge such as could serve as a foundation upon which to build wholesome and constructive interest relative to sexual attraction and feeling, and their primitive and acquired manifestations.

F—CURIOSITY ABOUT BOYS AND MEN—56

I—Menstruation and Change of Life
Whether men menstruate, "suffer in becoming men," etc. (3); have anything to correspond to menstrual flow (9); why not (1); have change of life (2); why not (1) 16

II—Reproductive Organs
Explain or tell about, give names, structure, functions, biology of the reproductive (gentle, or gentile) organs of men (5) 5

III—Wet Dreams; Self Abuse
a—Meaning of wet dreams (3); cause (1); to what kind of a young man occur (2); how often (1); when (1); b—if boys practice self abuse much (1) 9

IV—Circumcision; Rupture
a—Meaning of circumcision (2), reason for (1), organ involved (1); b—meaning of man's being ruptured (1), cause (1), condition of a man's sexual organs after a rupture (1) 7

V—Sexual Development and Special Characteristics
a—Meaning of sexual development in boys (1); when occur (2); what changes take place (2); b—Why men have hair on faces and women not (1); c—why men are more selfish than women; (1); d—what men's aims are in taking girls out and spending money on them (1) 8

VI—Attitude
Whether any man is good enough for a girl to go with 1

While as a group these questions are on the curiosity level and concerning men, they are not necessarily to be taken as expressing "sexual" curiosity primarily. Many of the questions are quite as plainly questions of biology and physiology as the corresponding questions listed under "Menstruation" and "Organs of Reproduction." Such questions, for instance, as whether men menstruate, or have anything to correspond to the menstrual flow of women, or why they do not, are in no real sense different from the question why women menstruate. Neither are fundamentally questions of "sexual" interest, but rather of general (or intellectual) curiosity, such as might naturally arise quite apart from any real sexual stimulus. Much the same is true of the questions under II. They are questions which would be rendered unnecessary by a course in elementary physiology in which the reproductive systems were treated on the same level as the respiratory and circulatory. That some degree of sexual interest on the part of the questioners actually was attached to these questions might well be taken for granted, but that such interest is not necessarily inherent in the character of the questions (as it is for instance in the questions listed under "Copulation"), is an important distinction to be made for the purposes of this study. The following 37 qs (66%), are to be considered as primarily expressive of interest directed toward physiology and biology: I all; II all; V, a and b.

The 15 qs (27%), included under III; IVa; and Vc, d, are taken as representative of sexual curiosity—curiosity dependent primarily upon sexual development and interest. Of these the 13 under III and IVa show interest in physical habits or practices of genuine importance; and the 2 under Vc and d, (3½%), are directed toward mental and social characteristics—they are aimed toward essential factors in the understanding of sexual differences. The characteristic feature of this group of curiosity questions in contrast with the preceding 37 is that they represent a genuine. or what might be

called a "legitimate" sexual interest, i.e., corresponding to the age and sexual maturity of the questioners, whereas the preceding group consists of the sort of questions that normally arise in childhood and youth as part and parcel of a natural curiosity "to know," and which acquire a peculiar sexual flavor through inaccessibility of information when the questions normally arise.

The 4 qs under IV b and VI give a small group of utility questions; IV b having value for physical hygiene, and VI emotional and mental bearing. As in case of the questions on sexual feeling, there occurs in this group no question explicitly directed toward the hygiene of sexual development and life of boys and men.

Observations in way of conclusions: The present group consists of questions which were judged to be concerned primarily with the physical and mental attributes of man as these might appear aside from his actual sexual life with woman. The conclusions submitted here are to be taken as applicable to this partial field.

(1) That as far as the questions reveal no interest had been established in the hygiene of sexual development and the sexual habits of boys and men.

(2) That very little interest was shown in mental characters and differences the understanding of which would tend to make for better mental and social adjustment between the sexes.

(3) That the interest revealed was directed preponderantly toward getting information concerning the names, structure and functions of the sexual organs of men.

(4) That the interest revealed was largely on the primitive and childhood level of curiosity; and that this curiosity persisting unsatisfied beyond the time of normal satisfaction and the awakening of sexual interests, had come to occupy a conspicuous place as a specific object of sexual attention on the part of the questioners.

G—MARRIAGE—50

I—Relative to Mate
a—Why cousins and other relatives should not marry (7); b—danger of marrying cousin or uncle (3); physical basis of law against (1); c—whether a woman should ask man before marriage if he is clean from venereal disease (8); whether a woman should marry a man with syphilis or gonorrhea (2);

d—The advantages of eugenic or hygienic marriage (3); e—whether people of like or opposite tastes live happier together (2): f—effect of large difference in age (2); g—if right to marry man of different religion (2): h—danger of marrying into defective family (1) 31

II—Age
Best age to marry and why (7); effect of early marriage on woman (1) 8

III—Marriage Conditions
a—Facts about marriage a woman should know before (2); what a girl is to expect in marriage (1); b—why both men and women grow stout after marriage (2) 5

IV—Celibacy in Women
Why so many attractive women are unmarried 3

V—Attitude toward
How a girl ought to feel about marriage (1); if there is really anything to make a girl afraid (1) 2

VI—Legal Protection
Whether there is a law to compel a man to marry a girl he has ruined 1

The most outstanding features of the outline are the comparatively small number of questions on a subject of so much individual and social importance, and presumably predominant interest to young women; the practical character of the questions as a whole within their limits; and concentration of questions in regard to the mate upon the two subjects of venereal disease and marriage to relatives. The 2 qs under IIIb are plainly of the sexual curiosity type and pretty inconsequential; the remaining 48 (96%), fall in the utility class. Of these 28 (Ib-d, f, h; II all), express interest directed toward physical hygiene—10 of which (Ic), or 20% of the questions on marriage, being concerned with the probability of venereal disease in the man, and apparently based upon the implicit acceptance of the double standard of sexual conduct; 8 have to do with the age of the woman; 4 with effects of marrying relatives; 3 with eugenics; 2 with disparity of ages; and 1 with the effect of marrying into a family with a defective member. Thus 56% of the 50 questions showed some degree of conscious interest in physical hygiene relative to marriage.

The 20 qs under Ia, e, g; IIIa; IV; V; and VI, are utility questions concerning a variety of fields. Of particular importance among these for the study of interest are (1) the 3 qs under IIIa (6% of the 50 qs) which comprise the interest shown in getting information concerning the actual conditions of married life; and (2) the 2 under Ie which

constitute the total amount of inquiry in regard to the relation of mental traits to marital happiness. There was no instance of a question which asked for information in regard to physical traits and marital happiness, and no instance of an inquiry concerning marital obligations and opportunities. The attitude questions under V are plainly significant for mental hygiene.

The inspection of the questions under I gives the interest shown in the character of the mate. A proportionally large number (62%) of the questions on marriage were concerned with this subject; their most striking feature being that 21, or 67% of the 31 qs on the subject, were devoted to the two interests—the possibility of venereal disease in the prospective husband, and marriage between relatives. Scarcely less striking is the entire absence of questions relative to physical habits and compatibility, and the meagre amount of interest shown in mental characteristics.

Observations in way of conclusions:

(1) That there was revealed a comparatively small amount of positive interest in marriage—there being but little less than 1 q for every three women of the group.

(2) That as far as the questions reach there was revealed a marked tendency to consider marriage from the standpoint of physical hygiene; and particularly a marked degree of interest in freedom from venereal disease as a qualification for marriage.

(3) That little interest was shown in marital happiness as dependent upon the mental or physical attributes and habits of the persons mated.

(4) That proportionately little interest was revealed in getting information about marriage as it actually exists; or as an ideal.

(5) That there was a conspicuous amount of interest shown in marriage between relatives.

(6) That the interest revealed was individually and socially constructive on the physical hygiene side; but lacking in constructive merit on the side of marital adjustment, and in intelligent interest in the conditions of married life.

H—REPRODUCTIVE AND EMBRYOLOGICAL PROCESSES—54

The use of technical terms aside from "reproduction" was confined to the use of "ovary" twice incorrectly (Ib).

I—Reproductive Processes
a—Explain the processes of reproduction, in humans (4); in human beings as compared with "other animal bodies" (2); and fish (1); b—how union of protoplasm is brought about (1); how the ovary is fertilized (2); how a human being gets started (1) 11

II—Development before Birth
How a child develops before birth (5); stages through which it passes (2); development from single cell to time it can leave body (1); 8

III—Determination of Sex
Upon what it depends (3); when known (2); if it can be controlled (1); whether frequency (1) or time of sex intercourse relative to menstrual flow (1) determines sex of child; if the man is very passionate will the result be a girl (1); why the first born is usually a boy (1); why girls prevail in some families, and in others boys (3) 13

IV—Twins, Triplets, etc.
a—Cause for (7); b—whether hereditary (1) 8

V—Parturition
The history of the birth of a child (4); how a baby, no matter how small it is, can pass through so small a place as the womb is (1) 5

VI—"Mothers' Milk"
Cause or origin (3); when formed (1) 4

VII—Veil (Superstitions)
Meaning of being born under a veil (1); cause (2); whether cause of gift of second sight (2) 5

The chief value of this group of questions for the study of interest lies particularly in their number as intellectual curiosity questions relative to child production. The 54 qs give a little over 1 q for every three members, and reveal by their number a large amount of interest directed toward the biological processes of reproduction—the determination of the sex of the child taking lead as an object of interest.

I—REPRODUCTIVE ORGANS—42

terms	*freq.*	*terms*	*freq.*
1—reproductive organs	10	8—virgin (cloth of virginity)	2
2—sex, or sexual organs ...	4	9—himan (for hymen)	1
3—the organs	8	10—utris (for uterus)	1
4—vital organs	2	11—ovary in the uterus	1
5—parts of a woman	2	12—ovary (see IIc)	1
6—opening of the body	3	13—navel	3
7—maiden	4		

I—General
Requests for names, description, location, functions of the reproductive, sex, or vital organs, or parts of a woman 11

II—Special Organs
a—What organ inside a woman makes it possible for her to give birth (3); what the "utris" is (1); b—what and where the opening is where the child comes out (3); c—whether there are two ovaries in the uterus and if so why only one is active (1); whether the undeveloped ovary leaves the body during menstruation (2); d—what the himen is (1); the maiden (2); the virgin (1); the cloth of virginity (1); where the maiden of a girl is (2); e—what the navel is (2); its function (1) 19

III—Development of Sexual Organs
When a girl's sex organs develop (2); when development stops (2); how (3) 6

IV—Care or Hygiene
How to take care of "the organs" (3); how to take care of body to prevent diseases of sex organs of girls (1); if vigorous exercise (1) or dancing (1) injures the sex organs of a girl ... 6

With the exception of the 3 relative to the navel, the questions of this group have to do with the genital organs of women. Since the notion that children are born through the navel is not uncommon among girls, and has been met with by the writer many times among mature women (particularly teachers), it seems legitimate to include questions concerning it in this group. Two trends of interest in regard to the reproductive organs of women are clearly discernible; interest in hygiene, shown by the 6 qs under IV; and interest in names, description, and functions, shown by the remaining 36. An additional feature is the elementary level of most of the information sought.

J—ANOMALOUS CONGENITAL CONDITIONS—36

I—Still Birth; Physical and Mental Imperfections
a—Why some babies are born dead (5); b—blind or crippled (1); with missing members (1); in unnatural forms (1); with hair lip (3); with birth marks (6); c—hermaphroditism—if there is such a person as "part man and part woman" (4), what it is like (6), cause of (4), proper name for (1), whether mentally queer (1); d—cause for some children being born stupid or imbeciles (3) 36

K—HEREDITY AND PRE-NATAL INFLUENCE—20

I—Nature and Influence of Heredity
Meaning of (1); its influence upon people (2); if it can be overcome (1) 4

II—Physical Resemblance: Disease; Habits
a—Why children resemble their parents (2); if girl takes after father and boy after mother (1); b—if parents transmit diseases to children (1); why sickly parents have sickly children (1); c—if children of drunkards tend to become drunkards (1) 6

III—Mental Traits; Thoughts
a—Whether traits of mentally stronger parent carry over to children (1); if the thoughts of the mother are transferred to the child (2); whether something is transferred from the parents to cause the stupidity some children have (1); b—why all the children of the mentally defective are not deficient when some are (1); c—why some are defective when their parents are not (3) 8

IV—Superstitions
Why people say that a deformed child (1) or idiot (1) is the result of sexual sin on part of parents 2

Since both the above groups have to do with conditions of children, they can be considered together to some extent. The thought naturally arises in connection with the questions under J, whether they were stimulated chiefly by interest in children, or by natural curiosity in the unusual or abnormal; and in connection with group K, whether the questions arose primarily on the basis of, and interest in, the questioner's own experience as children, or on the basis of interest in the welfare of future children—i.e., whether the underlying interest was primarily in themselves as children, or in the future generation. The internal evidence of the questions under J in that they are concerned entirely with causes or reasons for, and not at all with prevention or effects, and the comparative concentration of such striking phenomena as hermaphroditism and birth marks, seems to indicate that the stimulus back of the questions was chiefly curiosity in the novel. And in case of the questions under K, the fact that the experience of the questioners had been that of the child and not the parent, together with the well known tendency of parent and relatives to trace the appearance and traits of the children to this or that ancestor; and particularly the scarcity of questions plainly revealing personal interest in future motherhood, seem to favor the judgment that interest in, or curiosity relative to present conditions rather than feeling for the welfare of the future generation, acted chiefly as stimulus. But it is the direction that the interest takes relative to "sexual" subjects, and the place the information sought would tend to fill in the economy of the woman's life; together with the status of knowledge revealed, that are significant for this study. And the interest in both these groups is directed toward the physical and mental conditions of children as determined by the character of the germplasm, intra-uterine development, or disease or inadequacy on the part of parents.

In group J 2 qs are concerned with mental and 34 with physical imperfections and inadequacies. In every instance (whatever may have served as stimulus for the question) the inquiry is directed toward information of vital importance for mothers and desirable for teachers. Fundamentally they are hygiene questions. Their particular significance for this study, aside from the interest they reveal in children, and in conditions which the knowledge and application of laws of heredity and hygiene would tend to eradicate, consists in the fact that the information sought by these questions took rank in the minds of the questioners as "sexual" matter, and as such had shared the taboo involving sexual subjects.

As a class the questions under K must be ranked as hygiene. They comprise almost the entire amount of interest revealed in what can be construed as interest in heredity. Their special significance aside from this consists in (1) their elementary character and the ignorance of the basic facts of the "Mendelian" principles revealed; and (2) the fact that, again as in case of the questions under J, the information sought (while recognized by present day science to be of the utmost importance for the integrity of society), was bound up in the minds of questioners with "sexual" interest. Granting each question to have been asked by a different member, the 20 qs gives 12½% of the 160 women represented by a question. 2 other questions (p. 28, Ib and p. 37, IVb) complete the inquiry along this line, and on the basis of a different member for each question, gives nearly 14% of the group showing interest in heredity or pre-natal influence. The small amount of interest revealed in the subject may be explained on the inference that the rest of the group were so well informed on the subject as to feel no need of further information, or that they lacked the ground knowledge and intelligent interest to stimulate questions. Both the fact of the small number of questions on eugenics under marriage (p. 35, Id) and the elementary and general character of the few submitted, and the internal evidence of the questions here, mitigate against the former inference. The basic facts of the Mendelian principles of heredity are ordinarily so fascinating and stimulating to further inquiry, that the entire absence of questions showing this basic knowledge, seems to preclude the inference that any general knowledge of them existed—but

rather to point to the conclusion that such knowledge must have been pretty generally lacking.

L—PRELIMINARY SEXUAL BEHAVIOR—24

I—Kissing; Flirting (Mashing)
a—Why it is considered wrong to kiss a boy or man (3); if it is a sin (1); b—if it is proper (2); injurious in any way (1); c—whether flirting or mashing is wrong (3); why (1); if it is harmful (1) 11

II—Ordinary Conventions
Reasons why a girl should not take a man's arm (2); whether she should ever permit a man to help her mount a car when "there is no understanding between them" (1); whether it is proper for a group of girls to visit a boy's camp for a day (1) 4

III—Discussion of Sexual Subjects
Whether (3), or how (1), young women should talk about sex matters with the boys they go with 4

IV—Engagement
Why long engagements are considered harmful (1); if an engaged couple should discuss sexual matters (1) 2

V—Superstitions
Whether the complexion suffers from innocent companionship of girls and boys together (1); if it has any effect on the sex organs (1) 2

VI—Attitude
Whether sentimentality toward boys is sometimes justifiable 1

The questions under L are grouped together on the basis of interest shown in conventional companionship between the sexes outside of marriage, and are taken as representing the sort of interest that naturally leads to courtship and marriage—either interest in behavior with beaus, or in the social contacts that lead to their attainment. From this point of view there seem to be two outstanding features of the questions, (1) the naive quality of a considerable proportion, and (2) the small number of questions in a field of traditionally absorbing interest to young women of the age of the members of the group submitting questions.

M—PROSPECTIVE MOTHERHOOD AND PARENTHOOD—4

I—Parenthood:
a—"What can people do to have healthier children?" 1
b—"If to produce a race of non-defectives a girl's or boy's mate should be intelligent, healthy, etc., how is a girl or boy to know?" 1
2

II—Motherhood:
a—"What are the facts about motherhood that a woman should know before marriage?" 1
b—"Is there anything I can do now from a purely physical point of view to make me better fitted to become a mother at some future time?" 1
2

The point of view from which the questions in this group were determined is that of manifest interest in prospective parenthood or in responsibility for well-endowed children. 2 of these, (Ia and IIb) have to do with the regulation of conduct in the interest of future parenthood, and furnish the sole examples of such inquiry among the 880 qs submitted. The outstanding feature of the questions is their almost incredibly small number. In connection with this subject some consideration must be taken of questions which show interest in conditions of children, and of the comparatively large number in regard to childbearing, which it seems safe to assume would not have been duplicated with a corresponding group of young men. There was undoubtedly present a large amount of interest in childbearing and the processes of reproduction, but for the practical purposes of the regulation of conduct, and for individual and family happiness, and social welfare, the interest revealed by the study of such questions, seems very different from that revealed by the questions in the present group. The conclusion seems inevitable that in spite of a large amount of what must be considered natural interest in children and child production on the part of the members of the group, there was revealed, as suggested above, an almost incredibly small amount of definite personal interest in prospective motherhood.

N—ABNORMAL SEXUAL PRACTICES—17

I—Self Abuse; Perversion; Self Pollution
a—Meaning (5); b—cause of self abuse (1); c—if self abuse is dangerous to health (2); in what way (4), harm of self pollution (1); d—what causes a baby to handle its organs (3); e—whether we should ever put our hands upon our organs (1) 17

O—PROSTITUTION; WHITE SLAVERY—14

I—Meaning; Cause; Relation to Civilization; Government Control
a—Meaning of white slavery (2), cause of (1), why women are at the mercy of men in white slavery (3); whether unmarried life in men has much bearing upon "social evil" (1); b—if prostitution is a necessary evil, or result of our civilization (1); the relation between sexual vice and progress in civilization (1); if immoral houses are a protection to the community (1); c—if there is legalized protection in the U. S. (2); harm of segregation (2) 14

Both the above groups are concerned with genuine sexual interests, and in both cases the questions have important hygiene value. The 14 qs under O have implicitly to do with

the double sexual standard, and swell the group of questions showing interest in that phase of the sexual life of men—their particular significance is their social hygiene value.

The 17 qs under N are significant for personal and social hygiene in the realm of sexual feeling and practice. Nc are explicitly sexual hygiene questions, and are to be added to the comparatively small number of questions which reveal explicit interest in management of sexual conduct in the interests of physical health. The 17 qs (granting a different member for each question) would give 10% of the group represented. In view of the facts (1) that the information sought by the questions is the most fundamental sort, and (2) the universal need of young girls and boys for positive regulation of conduct in respect to the conditions involved, in the interest of both physical and mental welfare; that even 10% of the group should be ignorant of the facts sought would seem to evidence a serious degree of ignorance on the part of young women and prospective teachers.

P—LEUCORRHEA—13

I—Requests for explanation, or cause, or origin of the flow of white matter, whites, or albuminous discharge (6); b—what its importance is (2); c—whether it is natural or shows that something is wrong (2); d—whether flow of white matter has anything to do with desire for sexual intercourse (1); e—whether childbirth after marriage is affected in any way by whites before marriage (1); f—how whites should be cared for (1) 13

Granting a different member for each question, 8% of the group are represented by the 13 qs. But 1 (f) is directed explicitly toward the regulation of conduct; and there was no instance of a question showing that the questioners realized that the condition might be susceptible of cure. 3 (c and e) give some evidence of an inkling that the discharge might be pathological in origin or in effect, but in general the condition seems to have been accepted as a natural function. The special significance of these questions as a group is the light they throw upon the status of knowledge of the questioners relative to a point of personal hygiene of so much importance, and concerning a pathological condition known to be common among girls as well as older women. While the questions have a very genuine significance for personal hygiene because of the information they solicit, they lack the intelligent direction of interest revealed in the questions on menstruation,

where so large a proportion was directed toward the specific regulation of conduct for more healthful functioning. The questions as far as they reach reveal a profound ignorance concerning the pathological character of a very prevalent disorder, one of the serious effects of which is comprehended in the question under d. The question under e has a particular interest which should be noted, in that it makes inquiry concerning the relation of leucorrhea in girlhood with childbirth after marriage. This question stands out as the one bit of evidence of a conscious interest in the relation that might exist between the physical fitness of a young woman and the functioning of childbirth. As a group these questions have to do with physiology and hygiene rather than with "sexual" matters, and give additional evidence of the confusing of ordinary personal hygiene with matters of sex, that appears in so many of the preceding groups of questions.

Q—SUPERSTITIONS—6

I—Pimples; Boils
a—What relation pimples on the face of a boy or girl at a certain age have to do with sexual matters (4); b—why so many young men of 18 to 29 have pimples and boils (2) 6

R—ATTITUDE—4

I—Discussion of Sexual Subjects
Why people shrink from having sexual subjects discussed, whether natural or due to false standards (4) 4

The questions under Q and R were judged to be concerned with sexual superstitions and attitudes respectively, but of too general a nature to admit of classification under specific headings. Superstitions relative to the pimples on the faces of boys, and boils with men, are fairly common, and are evidenced in other groups of questions. Girls hear that pimples on the face of boys (and boils with men) are a sign of sexual impurity, or again a sign that they are sexually pure and need intercourse. They also hear that pimples on the face of a girl is a sign of menstruation, and less frequently of sexual purity or impurity. The significance of these questions comes out in the attempt to enumerate the number of questions which express or reflect superstitions which help form the stock in trade of the sexual knowledge of the young women as evidenced by such questions. Such questions in considerable numbers would of course need to be taken seriously in the study of status of knowledge and of interest.

Much the same is to be said in regard to the questions under R. They are questions which reveal the traditional and largely superstitious attitude toward anything pertaining to sex.

S—SEX INSTRUCTION—30

I—Time; Method; Content; Instructor
a—When sex instruction should be given children, at what age, (8); how (3); what facts should be told (3); b—whether mothers should tell girls and fathers, boys, or no such distinction be made (1), why mothers do not tell girls about menstruation and the things they need to know (6), what the psychological effects are of knowledge through unclean sources (1) 22

II—Sex Instruction in the Schools
What should be taught in the schools (2), how (2), when (3); whether it should be taught in the schools (1) 8

The 30 questions of this group comprise the interest revealed in the subject of sex instruction. Comparing the number of questions having to do with sex instruction with the whole number submitted, less than 3½% were concerned in any way with the question of imparting of sex information, and less than 1% showed interest unequivocally influenced by professional outlook.

SECTION THREE

GENERAL SUMMARIES: CONCLUSIONS: INTERPRETATIONS: RECOMMENDATIONS

I—General Summaries and Conclusions

For the purpose of making clear the major trends of interests brought out in the preceding analysis the questions are summarized into the following groups:

(1) Primitive sexuality group—defined to include the primary sexual feelings, tendencies and acts, and various primitive, harmful, or anti-social forms and behavior through which they find expression. It includes:

C, copulation	101
E, sex. feeling, a. attraction (all except II)	55
F, curiosity about men and boys	56
N, abnormal sexual practices	17
O, prostitution	14
Q, general sex superstitions	6
R, general sexual attitude	4
	253 = c29% of 880 qs

(2) Acquired sexual interests group-defined to include the acquired sentiments, forms, conventions, and institutions through which sexual motives are expected to find expression for social approval:

E, love (II p. 30)	15
G, marriage	50
L, pre. sex behavior	24
M, parenthood	4
	93 = c11% of 880 qs

(3) Interest in congenital conditions and child production:

B, childbearing	98
H, embryological processes	54
J, anomalous congenital conditions	36
K, heredity, a. pre-natal influences	20
	208 = c23½% of 880 qs

(4) Hygiene and physiology group—including questions seeking information of importance in general, or to women in particular, aside from any actual or potential sexual interest or experience:

A, menstruation	164
D, venereal, a. related diseases	77
I, reproductive organs of women	42
P, leucorrhea	13
	296 = c33½% of 880 qs

(5) S, sex instruction—30, c3% of 880 qs.

The above summary is non-representative or misleading in certain respects:

(a) in that superstitions and attitudes which play a fairly conspicuous part are not represented;

(b) in that interest in the essentially biological is underrepresented, due to the fact that analysis has shown that many of the questions included in the groups under (3), especially H, represent information of primarily scientific interest, which only in a very broad sense can be taken as showing interest in children;

(c) the number of questions gathered under (3) is misleading if "interest in children" and child production should be taken to mean that questions relative to congenital conditions and reproduction, were necessarily expressive of interest in the future generation, or even of interest in children "as such." The analysis of the questions under J and K has shown that no such inference can be drawn; the fact represented here is the basal fact that of the 880 questions submitted, 208, or 23½%, were concerned with some aspect of child production, or reproduction, or with congenital conditions which determine the physical or mental attributes of individuals; and

(d) the summary fails to give an adequate notion of the amount and character of the interest revealed in hygiene. Corrections relative to these points will apear in subsequent summaries.

The positive contributions of this summary are:

(a) it makes possible the comparison of the amount of interest shown in primitive sexuality (or primal and basic sexual tendencies and their anti-social expression) with the amount shown in the acquired and socially acceptable sentiments, ideals, and institutions of love, conventional companionship, marriage, and parenthood;

(b) it brings out the comparatively large amount of inquiry directed toward congenital conditions and reproduction; and

(c) it brings out the proportionally large amount of inquiry directed toward information which considerations of physical welfare and common sense must rank as subject matter of physiology and hygiene and not as "sexual" information from any legitimate social point of view.

The largest single group shown in the above summary is (4) where the interest revealed in A, I, and P, is in the bodily organs, functions, and diseased conditions of woman; and the information solicited of fundamental importance for the physical and mental welfare of girls and women, entirely aside from any "sexual" significance. The interest expressed by the questions under D is in common infectious, or preventable, or in some instances, hereditary diseases which have no necessary relation to sex experience. The entire group, comprising 33½% of the questions submitted, and a corresponding amount of the interest revealed, was concerned with information essential to general well-bring, which only a distorted and socially inimical viewpoint could designate "sexual"; but which had become bound up in the minds of the questioners with the subject of sex and consequently, for practical purposes, shared its taboo.

Using sexual broadly to include both the more primitive feelings and acts with their expression by anti-social means, and the acquired sentiments and forms by which the sexes are brought together, the summary shows 253 qs, c29%, of the questions submitted revealing interest directed toward primitive sexuality (or its anti-social expression as represented by abnormal practices and prostitution), and but 93, c11%, directed toward the socially approved sentiments and forms ranging from conventional companionship to parenthood inclusive. Thus on the basis of the number of questions there was nearly 200% more interest shown in the primitive and anti-social manifestations of sex, than in the whole range of socially approved avenues through which the sexual interests of youth and age are supposed to find expression.

Under (3) are assembled the groups of questions which show interest in congenital conditions, reproduction, and childbearing. The range of interest is from the conditions

of conception (B. V, p. 20), to the basis of physical and mental resemblance (K, II and III, p. 38, 39) and the nature and explanation of such phenomena as birth marks and hermaphroditism J, I, b and c. The interest which would comprehend all the groups brought together might best perhaps be designated "racial"; and would be taken to include interest in childbearing from conception to birth, the embryological processes involved throughout, and the character of the production. In the ordinary social sense very little of this can be construed as unequivocally revealing specific, concrete interest in children,* it seems rather to represent a semi-basic, semi-acquired racial interest which might bear somewhat the same relation to conscious interest in the production of well-endowed children, and to specific conscious interest in prospective parenthood, that the primitive and basic sexual tendencies bear to the sentiment of love between the sexes and marriage.

Observations in way of conclusions: On the basis of the above summary the following general conclusions seem warranted:

(1) That there was a large amount of subject matter consisting of essential facts of personal and social hygiene, and possessing no necessary relation to sexual experience, which was unfortunately mixed up in the minds of the questioners with the subject of sex;

(2) That the genuinely sexual interest revealed by the questions (taking sexual to include both primitive and socialized forms) was directed predominantly toward the primary feelings and manifestations, and to a comparatively as well as actually small degree toward those interests of love, courtship, marriage, and motherhood, with which the interest of young women is traditionally supposed to be concerned;

(3) That there existed a large amount of interest in the facts of reproduction and congenital traits, apart from any considerable amount of discernible specific interest in the production of well-endowed children, or in the welfare of children as such—an interest which may be thought of as "racial," corresponding on the reproductive side to the primitive tendencies whose function it is to bring the sexes together.

See page 20, IIb, for the 1 q of the 208 under consideration, which shows explicit interest in the welfare of the child to be produced.

The following tables show the general character of the questions comprehended in the preceding groups except that concerned with sex education.

1—PHYSIOLOGY AND HYGIENE GROUP—"NON-SEXUAL" INTERESTS

column	I	II	III	IV	V	
group	*physical hygiene*	*inherently hygiene*	*biology*	*super-stitions*	*atti-tudes*	*total*
A—Menstruation	51	48	53	9	3	164
D—Venereal Dis.	1(DS)	76(DS)				77
I—Reproductive org. of women	6		36			42
P—Leucorrhea	1	12				13
Total	59	136	89	9	3	296

2—REPRODUCTION; CONGENITAL CONDITIONS; CHILDBEARING—"RACIAL" INTERESTS

columns	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	
groups	*phy hyg*	*inherently hygiene*	*biol*	*super*	*att*	*mental conditions*	*prevention of children*	*total*
B—Child-bearing	6	23	39		3		27	98
H—Embryo-logical			54					54
J—Anomalous congenital conditions		33				3		36
K—Heredity pre-natal influence		10		2		8		20
Total	6	66	93	2	3	11	27	208

3—SEXUALITY GROUP—PRIMITIVE SEXUAL INTEREST

groups	*phy hyg*	*inherently hygiene*	*biol*	*super*	*att*	*sexual curiosity*	*ethics*	*total*
C—Copulation	7	48(DS)	39	3	2	2		101
E—Sex feel. a. attr.		17(12DS)	13	6DS	7	10	2	55
F—Curiosity about men and boys		3	37		1	15		56
N—Abnormal practices	7					10		17
O—Prostitu-tion		14(DS)						14
Q—Sex super-stitions				6				6
R—Sex atti-tudes					4			4
Total	14	82	89	15	14	37	2	253

4—ACQUIRED SEXUAL INTERESTS GROUP

column	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	
groups	*physical hygiene*	*inherently hygiene*	*biology*	*super-stitions*	*attitudes*	*sexual curiosity*	*ethics, social conduct, legal protection*	*mental welfare of children*	*compatibility*	*total*
E—Love			4			7	4			15
G—Marriage	28(10DS)	7			2	8	3		2	50
L—Preliminary sex behavior				2	1		21			24
M—Parenthood motherhood	3							1		4
Total	31	7	4	2	3	15	28	1	2	93

"Hygiene" trend of interest: Two groups as organized in these 4 tables show roughly the "hygiene" trend of interest as determined by the object of inquiry of the individual questions. Under the caption of "physical hygiene" (column I of tables 1-4), are included questions either explicitly or implicitly directed toward the regulation of conduct in the interest of physical health: the former comprehend such questions as, "Please tell us how to take care of the body during menstruation" (A VII p. 15), "What should a woman abstain from in way of food and clothing when she is bearing a child?" (B IIIe p. 20). "What can people do to have healthier children?" (M I p. 41); and the latter takes in such questions as, "What is the best age to marry?" (G II p. 35), "In what way is self abuse harmful?" (N I p. 42), "What are the dangers of giving birth at an early age?" (B VIII p. 21).

Under "inherently hygiene" questions are included questions which, although not so clearly and apparently consciously directed toward the regulation of conduct, solicit information which is inherently of a sort fitted to make for better physical health. Questions of this sort are all questions under P, page 43, except the 1 under f which asks how the whites should be cared for, and hence is *explicitly* directed toward the regulation of conduct; questions on pain and irregularity of menstruation that give no evidence of knowledge that the conditions are pathological; all questions relative to venereal and related diseases except the 1 concerned with prevention (hence with regulation of conduct); general ques-

tions inquiring the reasons why relatives should not marry; questions in regard to pain at childbirth which give no clear evidence of knowledge that pain at parturition is pathological; and all "double standard" questions (marked DS in the tables) except the 6 listed under superstitions in Table 3. The object of the separation of the questions having marked physical hygiene value on the basis of the criterion whether they were explicitly or implicitly directed toward the regulation of conduct or merely sought information of inherent value for physical hygiene, is (1) to discover as far as possible the extent to which questioners had come to think of the various functions and situations involved in terms of physical health —or, from the standpoint of interest, to what extent an interest had been established between the conceptions of modern medical science and the phase of "sexual" experience concerning which inquiry was made; and (2) somewhat conversely, to summarize the fields of information important for personal, social, and "racial" hygiene, into which apparently modern conceptions of hygiene had penetrated but slightly, or not at all, as far as the questions gave clear evidence.

Column I of Table 1 shows that aside from the case of menstruation there is little evidence that the questioners had come to think of the genital organs and their functions in terms of hygiene; and even in case of menstruation the interest revealed in regulation of conduct for healthful functions was confined predominantly to the more external factors of bathing, exercise, and general behavior during the special period, and to a slight degree in the regulation of conduct relative to pain and irregularity. Hence, even in case of menstruation, modern conceptions of hygiene had not apparently penetrated much beyond the problems of bathing and exercise. Table 3 shows the slight extent to which evidence is present of a tendency to think of the primal sexual feelings and their outlet in terms of hygiene—there being but 14 questions, 7 in regard to time and frequency of copulation, and 7 on the harmful effects of abnormal practices, which were apparently concerned with the regulation of conduct for physical welfare. The table shows over 100% more interest, estimated on basis of the number of questions, directed toward unhealthful mental attitudes and foolish and misleading superstitions than in the problem of the regulation of conduct for healthful sexual

life relative to the primary sexual tendencies. The conclusion seems inevitable that the relation had not been generally established as an interest.

The meagre amount of interest revealed in regulation of conduct relative to socially approved sexual forms is shown in Table 4. A noteworthy feature here however is the *proportionally* large number of hygiene questions and their concentration upon the subjects of marriage and parenthood; so that while evidence is lacking of any wide or general conscious interest in the regulation of conduct for wholesome love life, and satisfying marriage and parenthood, there is evidence of some awakening interest in hygiene relative to the selection of a mate, and preparation for parenthood.

Of the 208 questions concerned with some phase of child production or congenital influences, but 6, Table 2, could be taken as aimed toward the regulation of conduct in the interest of more healthful childbearing for the woman, or the normal development of the child during intra-uterine life; although 66 had inherent value as hygiene questions.

The question may arise here in regard to the validity of the position that the conspicuous lack of questions in regard to the regulation of conduct in the interest of healthful functioning is to be taken as evidence that conscious intelligent interest between the two was largely lacking. The writer finds several grounds for the justification of this position, aside from the psychological assumption that in an age of hygiene such interest if markedly present would have found expression. The following are some of the considerations that influenced the investigator in taking the position noted:

(1) The character of the questions under A, II and III p. 15; B II, page 20; and P, page 43 where of 81 qs dealing with the subjects of pain or other pathological conditions of menstruation, parturition, and leucorrhea (the total number of questions on these topics) no question occurred relative to prevention and but 6 touching upon care or remedy. The only credible explanation of this lack of interest shown in prevention and meagre amount of interest revealed in cure in fields of such vital importance to girls and women, it seems to the writer, must lie in the inference that the questioners had not come to appreciate the fact that these conditions are pathological and hence presumably preventable as a rule and

that the interest revealed was in these disturbing conditions taken implicity as "natural" phenomena, and not in prevention and cure. Which is only another way of saying that there was lacking intelligent interest in the application of the concepts of modern scientific thought and method to the regulation of conduct in these fields.

(2) The presence of a conspicuous number of genuine conduct questions in regard to bathing, exercise, and general conduct during the period of menstruation, with the entire absence of prevention (and fewness of remedy) questions in regard to pain. The only plausible inference here it seems is that in the one case the questioners had acquired a conscious intelligent interest in the relation of personal conduct to physical health and that in the other such conscious intelligent interest was lacking—i.e., had not been acquired.

(3) The elementary character of the questions in general which are so largely questions of "meaning" or "existence" or "why" and explanation, the understanding of which would, it seems, form a prerequisite for an intelligent conscious interest in prevention of pathological conditions.

"Biological" trend of interest; interest in mental welfare of children: Under the head of "biological trend of interest" are brought together questions which solicit information which a good high school, or in some instances, somewhat more advanced, a treatise in physiology and biology would supply—granting of course that the genitalia and reproductive processes received the same level of treatment as the digestive or nervous systems. The group includes questions in regard to organology (other than those concerned with the care (or hygiene) of the organs), the embryological processes and sex differences. All questions listed under K, page 38, might have been included in this group, but their inclusion here would not have modified materially the significance of the group as it stands; while the selection of such questions as showed interest in mental welfare of offspring, or a somewhat explicit interest in physical welfare (Table 2, K), seemed more accurately to represent the interest of the individual questions. The special significance of the "biological" group (see col. 3 of Tables 1-4, and Table 5, on the next page), lies in fact that by this summarization 89 of the questions of the "sexuality" group and 93 of the "racial" are seen to be ques-

tions of biology or physiology on the level of corresponding questions in regard to menstruation (p. 15, A, I) or of questions that might arise on the part of elementary or high school students in regard to the organs and processes of digestion—but which had come to occupy a position of special "sexual" interest through isolation or segregation. Table 5 which follows on the next page shows 275 qs, 31% of the whole number of questions submitted, to represent information of importance for the intelligent understanding of the human body and reproduction, and even for personal and racial welfare, which in but possibly few instances have any necessary relation to personal "sexuality," but which had come to bear the taint of sex in the minds of the questioners.

The 12 qs listed in Table 2, col. VI and Table 4, col. VIII show the interest expressed in mental traits of offspring.

Table 5 summarizes the character of the interests within the 4 major groups under discussion, and includes the 30 qs on sex instruction.

The first 4 items of the table bring together the number of questions within the major groups which were directed toward information which belong in the fields of hygiene and biology, but which ranked as sexual matter in the thoughts of the questioners. The 688 qs included in the 4 items give about 78% of the whole number submitted concerned with information of this sort.

Relative to the facts made accessible by the remaining items of Table 5 the small number of questions dealing with any aspect of physical or mental compatibility may be noted again (see p. 35, 36) ; also the comparatively small number of questions concerned with extra-marital conventional companionship. One other important feature to be noticed is the significantly large number of questions included under superstitions and attitudes which have been combined in the table. The 51 qs here included give but a partial picture of the extent to which the sexual interests of the questioners were centered in notions and tenets having their origin in sex superstitions, since all "double standard" questions are fundamentally of this sort, and questions here and there throughout the outlines of Section III show the mark of ancient superstitions, even where not classed as superstitions: but that 51 qs, c6% of the questions submitted, should be concerned

5—TABLE SUMMARIZING TRENDS OF INTEREST WITHIN THE MAJOR GROUPS

interests	*"major groups"*	*Sex Instruction*	*physiology a. hygiene—"non-sexual interests"*	*"sexuality"—primitive sex interests group*	*acquired—social sex int. reproduction—"racial" inter.*		*total no. of qs*	*% of 880 qs*
"Inherently hygiene"—the information solicited of distinct hygiene value			136(76DS)	82(74DS)	07	66	291	33.06
"Biological"—information which an elementary or somewhat advanced treatise in physiology and biology would supply			89	89	04	93	275	31.22
"Physical hygiene"—questions either explicitly or implicitly directed toward the regulation of conduct for physical health			59(1DS)	14	31	06	110	12.50
Interest shown in mental welfare of offspring					01	11	12	01.45
"Sexual curiosity"—ques. seeking information concerning sexual conditions as they exist, without any special hygiene or conduct value				37	15		52	05.90
Superstitions and Attitudes—having significance for mental hygiene and frequently for physical hygiene			12	29	05	05	51	05.79
Extra-marital companionship; ethics; conventions; legal protection				02	28		30	03.40
Sex education		30					30	03.40
Prevention of children—birth control						27	27	03.06
Compatibility—questions having to do with mental or physical traits in relation to marital happiness					02		02	00.22
Total		30	296	253	93	208	880	100.00

with flagrant superstitions and superstitious attitudes is significant both for the study of trends of interest and status of knowledge. Thus taking the 23 qs in regard to attitude toward sexual life (as the questioners apparently conceived it), there was nearly 22 hundred per cent more interest revealed in how a girl ought to feel or the reasons for feelings of fear and shame relative to various aspects of sex, than in getting information in regard to what a girl can do to make herself better fitted physically to become a mother; and taking the 51 qs which embodied some overt superstition or superstitious attitude, more interest was shown in these misleading and frequently corrupting notions than in marriage.

Conclusions based upon the summary of interests within the 4 major groups:

(1) That aside from the care of the body during the period of menstruation extremely little interest was revealed in the regulation of conduct in the interest of the healthful development and care of the genital organs; and that there existed a general lack of intelligent conscious interest in the care and development of the body as the fundamental condition of normal (painless and regular) functioning.

(2) That very little interest was revealed in the hygiene of personal sexual life, either pre-marital or marital; and that intelligent conscious interest in the development and care of the body as a prerequisite for normal functioning in childbirth and for the production of well-endowed children was generally lacking.

(3) That a disproportionally large amount of the sexual interest of the members of the group was focused upon details of physiology and biology apparently at the expense of the more individually and socially profitable sexual interests of women of the age of those comprising the group.

(4) That sexual interests of the young women were directed to an unfortunate degree toward sex superstitions ranging in nature from the comparatively trivial to the socially inimical.

(5) That the status of knowledge of the members of the group in regard to the fundamental facts of sexual development and the organs and processes of reproduction was too meagre and inaccurate to render possible an intelligent interest in their hygiene.

II—INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

Results at once so contrary to the generally accepted notions of the sexual interests of young women in their late adolescence or early womanhood and the presumably natural course of events in the girl's development, and to social welfare as dependent upon family life, must find its explanation, it seems, either in the specialized character of a non-representative group, or in the character of the social environment and mode of education and training by which the general sexual attitude and acquired sexual interests of girls in general are formed. As far as the investigator has been able to discover, the only feature of the group that could be urged as making for a peculiar line of sexual interests different from those of other young women of high school education, is the fact that the group was made up of prospective teachers; and that teachers are traditionally supposed not to be interested in matrimony, and hence presumably not to be interested in the opposite sex, nor in the primitive sexual tendencies. But the study has revealed a marked amount of interest in men (though not in conventional companionship and courtship); and a marked amount of interest in the primitive sexual tendencies and their natural expression, though comparatively little in marriage, and extremely little in prospective parenthood. Hence it seems to the investigator that the interpretation of the results in these respects, at least, must lie in the formative processes which society had brought to bear upon the developing sexual interests of the group; and since these had been shared in common with city girls of high school education, there seems no legitimate basis for the supposition that the results reached represent the interests of a specialized group.

Another phase of the results reached (besides the meagre amount of interest in courtship, marriage, and preparation for motherhood) may perhaps seem to find some degree of explanation in a specialized group lacking in normal sexual interests, is the large number of questions seeking information in regard to facts that are essentially physiological and biological. Such explanation would lie in the supposition that candidates for teaching in the elementary schools are a special intellectual class interested in scientific knowledge, and corre-

spondingly lacking in sexual interest. Several considerations render such a supposition unjustifiable:

(1) There is no apparent warrant in fact for the assumption that candidates for teaching in the elementary schools are a special intellectual class, specially interested in the biological sciences.

(2) The number and character of the questions relative to the most primitive sexual tendencies, and the sexual life of men, refutes the notion of lack of interest in fundamental sexuality.

(3) The fact that the questions were submitted as representing sexual interest—that the object of inquiry was thought of by the questioners as "sexual" matter and not as scientific information.

(4) The elementary and even crude character of many of the questions, embodying the well known and fairly universal inquiries of normal childhood; and

(5) The fact that a sufficient explanation for the prevalence of such questions, it seems to the investigator, can be found in the educational, family, and social life of girls.

The interpretation of the results by social conditions: The major results which call for interpretation and which include the others are: (1) the fact that the sexual interest revealed was directed preponderantly toward the primal manifestations of sexual feelings and tendencies, rather than toward love, marriage, and prospective parenthood;

(2) The small amount of interest shown in men as companions, beaus and sweethearts; and

(3) The general lack of intelligent interest in (a) the hygiene of the genital organs; (b) the development of the body for normal functioning in menstruation and childbearing; and (c) the production of well-endowed children.

(1) The preponderance of interest directed toward primitive sexuality, over interest in the acquired sexual interests: In view of the character of the group, made up of girls from ordinary middle or working class families, of more than average educational opportunities, and hence presumably of at least average high idealism—the only plausible explanation of this fact, it seems to the investigator, must lie either in a social environment which consciously or unconsciously throws

emphasis upon primitive sexuality, with the result that the same attitude is unconsciously reflected in the minds of the young; or in an education (taken broadly to include family, religious and school instruction) which fails to provide specific and adequate training for the acquired and socially approved forms; or the combined influence of such environmental and educational conditions. The psychological results of such an environment would be expected to coincide with those obtained in this study—since the primitive sexual tendencies, simply from being primal and innate, naturally assert themselves as objects of attention and interest with puberty and adolescence, if not before; while the acquired forms, simply through not being native, have to be built up anew in each generation of young people. The failure of society to provide the positive instruction necessary to accomplish the latter, or a social attitude that would tend to accentuate primitive sexual tendencies, would be expected to result psychologically in intensifying and perpetuating these as the predominant and central factors of sexual interest at the expense of those higher sexual sentiments and interests into which the more primitive tendencies should be developed (or "sublimated") through education. The fact that specific training of children for marriage and parenthood is not provided as a part of our social and educational policies, would, it seems, by itself furnish sufficient psychological interpretation for the results obtained in this study—the lack of evidence of any general sublimation of the primitive sexual interests into the socially approved forms. But the unconscious accentuation by society of the primitive (as evidenced by the taboo of everything pertaining to sex, and the social acceptance of a different standard of sexual morality for men and women) would seem also to furnish a potent contributing factor.

(2) *The small amount of interest revealed in men as companions and beaus*—The writer finds the explanation of this in the practical segregation of girls and boys, and young people of the opposite sex, as it exists in the educational and social life of the middle and working classes of cities, with the absence of adequate compensatory provision for social contact and companionship under conventional conditions. The interests involved here, like those of marriage and prospective motherhood, are acquired interests, dependent for

development upon a specially favoring environment, such as the conditions of city life (and perhaps of smaller towns under present day living), do not admit of—or at least do not provide.

(3) *Lack of intelligent interest in hygiene as stated under (3), page 59*—Following the points in the order previously given, the writer finds the explanation of these results in certain social factors, the most potent of which seem to be:

(a) The lack of organized instruction in the character and functions of the genital organs and their care;

(b) The persistence of the ancient superstition that it is natural for the body of women to function with pain; together with the persistence of deeply ingrained social ideals in regard to the play activities and standards of dress and beauty of girl children, that act antagonistically to the social acceptance of ideals making for the free and normal development of the woman's body;

(c) The implicit inclusion on the part of society of child-bearing as a "sexual" subject, with its consequent taboo as a subject for free inquiry and instruction.

III—*Recommendations for Further Investigation*

In the interest of a wider knowledge relative to the status of sexual interest and knowledge of young people in their late adolescence, as it exists under conditions of American life, two supplementary fields of investigation seem to the writer to offer special opportunities—(1) a similar study, i.e., employing the same kind of data and method of treatment, with young women who have gone to work before or on leaving elementary school; and (2) a similar study with young men of corresponding ages with and without high school education.

In the first case the young women might presumably represent a somewhat different home and immediate social environment from that represented by girls having the advantage of a high school education, and certainly in the intervening years would have been subject to a special environment very different from that experienced by girls attending high school. The particular value of a similar investigation with such a group would presumably consist in the means

it would provide for the study of the effects upon the sexual interests of young women of these different environmental conditions, by the time they have reached full marriageable age.

The second recommendation carried out successfully would provide the means for comparison of results obtained with young women and young men; and would provide, it seems, valuable data by which the validity of the findings of the present study and their interpretation in view of social conditions, would be either strengthened or weakened. However, that results be comparable, the utmost care must to taken that the material which makes up the data be the *spontaneous* expression of the interests of the subjects, and be explicit (unambiguous) in character—preferably in the form of simple direct questions. Material gained by the questionnaire method could not legitimately be taken as providing comparable data.

VITA

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